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NEW VIEWS
OF
Early Virginia History,

—1606-1619.—

F.Y

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NEW VIEWS OF EARLY VIRGINIA HISTORY.

BY

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VIRGINIA, U. S. A.



I. THE EVIDENCE.

My view is that a full and fair history of the founding of Virginia has never been published.

The colony of Virginia was founded by the Virginia Company of London, in a country claimed by Spain, against the continued protest of that power ; and Virginia and the Virginia Company of London were constantly under Spanish espionage. Every step had to be taken cautiously. The keeping of all transactions and records closely was necessary. The management of the Virginia Company was largely composed of the great merchants and leading business men of London. They sometimes issued, or authorized, the publication of tracts, sermons, broadsides, etc., for the purpose of explaining away some misfortune, or as an inducement to colonization, to give words of encouragement, or in some way to promote the welfare and advancement of the colony ; but it was not advisable for them to make public their affairs, and no real history was compiled from their records. In 1624, the Virginia Company of London was dissolved, and all of

their records were placed by the order of James I. into the hands of a Royal Commission, and I doubt if any of this data which passed into the hands of this commission, from which a full and fair history of our Genesis might have been compiled, has ever been found. The commission was composed of the following members :

* Henry, Viscount Mandeville, * William, Lord Paget, Arthur, Lord Chichester, Sir Thomas Edmonds, Sir John Suckling, * Sir George Calvert, * Sir Edward Conway, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Julius Cæsar, * Sir Humfry May, * Sir Baptiste Hicks, * Sir Thomas Smythe, * Sir Henry Mildmay, * Sir Thomas Coventry, * Sir Robert Heath, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, * Sir Robert Killigrew, Sir Charles Montague, * Sir Philip Carie, Sir Francis Goston, * Sir Thomas Wroth, * Sir John Wolstenholme, * Sir Nathaniel Rich, * Sir Samuel Argall, * Sir Humfry Handsford, * Matthew Sutcliff, D. D., Francis White, D. D., Thomas Fanshawe, Esq., * Robert Johnson, * James Campbell and * Ralph Freeman, *aldermen of London*; * Maurice Abbot, * Nathaniel Butler, * George Wilmore, * William Hakwell, John Mildmay, * Philip Jermyne, * Edward Johnson, * Thomas Gibbes, * Samuel Wrote, * John Porey, Michael Hawes and * Edward Pallavicini, *Esquires*; * Robert Bateman, * Martyn Bonde, * Thomas Stiler, * Nicholas Leate, * Robert Bel, * Abraham Cartwright, Richard Edwards, * John Dyke, * Anthony Abdy, * William Palmer, * Edward Dichfield, * George Mole and * Richard Morer, *Merchants*. They were ordered "to take into their handes and custody, all charters, Letters-patentes, grantes and Instructions, all Bookes, orders, Letters, Advices, and other Writings and thinges in any wise concerning the colony and company of Virginia, in whose handes soever the same be."

Copies of some of these things remain; but where are the originals? I have inserted the names of the commission with the hope that some of their present representatives may be able to tell us something as to what has become of the original records of the founding of a New World!

Soon after the dissolution of the Virginia Company of London, Captain John Smith's General History of Virginia, &c., was published and for nearly *two hundred and forty years* our historians were forced by the lack of other evidence to rely almost entirely on this book for early Virginia historical data; but this book was not compiled from the early records of the Virginia Company, it

*Were members of the Virginia Company of London.

was entirely a personal affair. Capt. Smith had been an officer (of the company's) in Virginia, who failed to give satisfaction and was removed from his position. Of course he had friends among his faction in Virginia, and he evidently had sympathizers in England, also, who thought the managers of the Virginia Company had dealt too harshly with him; but the managers were certainly most competent of estimating correctly the value of the services of their servants; their interest and affairs were at stake; it was most essentially to their interests for them to judge carefully and correctly in the premises; they were the legal and responsible judges in the matter, and their verdict should be regarded as decisive. The prime object of Captain Smith's book was a special plea for himself, as against their decision. It is intensely partizan, very condemnatory of others and most laudatory of himself. The narrative is incomplete, inaccurate and unjust; but "it was almost the only source from which our old historians derived any knowledge of the infancy of our State,"* and thereby, I believe, a stigma has been cast upon many of the founders, and a very narrow idea of the founding of Virginia has been conveyed.

The Rev. William Stith, so late as 1747, was the first historian of Virginia to publish, or make use of, any part of the regular records of the Virginia Company of London. He published the charters (all of the names in the first and third charter have never been published) and used a copy of "the Records of the Court," from April 1619 to June 1624. The Company kept three sets of books, viz: "The Blurr Books," (or Blotters), "The Court Books" and "*The Records of the Court.*" The last named were prepared especially for public inspection, and might be called *the Reports of the Court*. The history of the copy used by Stith is intensely interesting, and the *Records* themselves are of the greatest value. They are now in the Library of Congress, and it is a National disgrace that they have not been preserved by "*The Art Preservative of Arts.*" Yet we must not lose sight of the fact that most of the references to the earlier dates, which they contain, begin, after a bitter feud had broken out between the Administrations whose reports they are, and the Administration of the foundation period; and therefore they should not be relied on implicitly when they refer to that period, or to the members of that administration. I believe the story of the founding and of the founders

*Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

of Virginia, prior to 1619, has been based almost entirely on unfriendly evidence; a full and fair history of that period has never been written.

II. MY WORK.

In his "Declaration of the state of the colony, etc.," Edward Waterhouse says: "Such is the customary daintinesse of Readers, that they seldom take the paines to gather together all that has beene written of any subject, so that they might take the whole businesse into their consideration, (which is the onely way to make a true judgement) but usually content themselves with one or two Bookes set out occasionally, and with reference to some other Treatises, whereby they gaine but a lame and parcell-knowledge, and so oftentimes both prejudice themselves and the Truth."

Fully appreciating the force of this assertion, I have been, *and am*, trying to gather together copies of every remaining co-temporary reference to Virginia during the foundation period of 1606-1619, whether long or short, in manuscript or print, in English, Spanish, French or any other language. Under this heading, my collection is, possibly, the most complete in the world. I believe I have copies of every co-temporary publication entered at Stationer's Hall*, relating to Virginia, save the following, which were entered for publication on the days given:

1611, April 8. By Master Welby, "Three Articles sett downe by the Councill of Virginia for 300 men to go thither."

1611, August 16. By John Wright, "A ballad, called the last newes from Virginia, being an encouragement to all others to follow that noble enterprize."

1612, February 24. By Master Welby, under the handes of Sir Thomas Smythe &c., "A booke or thinge called the publication of the Lotterye for Virginia."

1612, May 16. By Master Welby, under the handes of Sir Thomas Smythe &c., "A Publication by his Majesties Councill of Virginia, touching the deferringe of the Lotterye."

1612, July 2. By Master Welby, under the handes of Sir Thomas Smythe &c., "A booke called the Lotterye for Virginia, opened the XXIXth of June, 1612, declaringe the names of suche as have prices or rewardes."

1612, July 17. "Master Welby entred for his copy in full courte holden this day and under the hand of Sir Thomas Smythe, 'The Articles sett downe for the second Lotterye.'"

1614, March 9. By Felix Kyngston, under the handes of Sir

Thomas Smythe &c., "A declaration of the present estate of the English in Virginia with the final resolucon of the Great Lotterye intended for their supplye."

This last named tract, with a letter from his Majesties Privy Council, dated April 1st, 1614, was sent, from time to time, to many corporations, companies, etc., in England. I have a copy of the letter ; but *the tract is still wanting*. I have copies of more than a dozen prints, which, it seems, were not entered at Stationer's Hall.

I have obtained copies of every remaining co-temporary reference to Virginia, during 1606-1619, in manuscript or in print, the existence of which is known to me, save some things at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire ; at Knole Park, Kent ; at Condover Hall, Shropshire ; at Crow-Combe Court, Somerset, and at "The Trinity House," London, England.† But, I believe, there are many things in the premises, somewhere in the world, the existence of which are still unknown to me, and I will always be very grateful for any information regarding any of these data.

In order to form some idea of the guides the Virginia Company had to go by, when they undertook to plant the colony, I have made a study of what had been done in naval affairs, discovery, commerce and colonization before 1606. In order to form an estimate of the company, I have made especial, and quite successful, efforts to collect everything of interest regarding the life and character of every member thereof. I have portraits of nearly two hundred persons, who were more or less instrumental in planting the colony of Virginia. In brief, to the best of my ability, I have made a close, careful, and, I believe, impartial study of the founding and of the founders of Virginia, and I am convinced there can be no real question of the fact, that the planting of the colony was one of the broadest, most farseeing and noblest enterprises ever undertaken by man ; and that it was carried on to a final success as well as circumstances, many of which were beyond mortal control, would permit. The managers were human beings and, of course, as they had to learn by experience, they sometimes erred ; but their errors were corrected as soon as found out, the causes of faction and dissension were promptly removed and the "manifold difficulties, crosses

*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, between 1554-1610, by Edward Arber, F. S. A.

†The Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts in the private collections of Great Britain.

and disasters, appointed by the highest providence"* were met "with a constant and patient resolution."

The colony was founded during the brightest era in the history of Great Britain, and established by some of the brightest men of that age. Lord Jeffrey, referring to the writers of 1580-1649, says: "In point of real force and originality of genius, neither the age of Pericles, nor the age of Augustus, nor the times of Leo X, nor of Louis XIV, can come at all into comparison. For in that short period, we shall find the names of almost all the very great men that this nation has ever produced." This is true of the writers and is equally true of the business men of that time, who were the real founders of Virginia. They were "men of action and experience, not of contemplation and discourse." They were not the authors or publishers of their own eulogies; and their good names have been almost obliterated; but they were the authors of the commerce and of the colonies which have made Great Britain so great.

III. THE ORGANIZATION &C., OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY.

The Muscovy and East India Companies were organized with a special reference to "Newe Trades (commerce) and Discoveries." The Virginia Company especially for colonization; but, also, for commerce and discovery. Under their first charter of April 10th, 1606, the first and second colonies were to have separate councils to govern limited areas in Virginia; but the government, "as well of the said severall colonies, as of, and for, any other part or place, within the precincts of four and thirty and five and forty degrees of northerly latitude," was under the management of one superior Council in England, called "His Magesties Council of Virginia." This council may be called the special colonization feature in the Virginia Companies. In other respects the Virginia Company of London was organized very much as the East India, and the other commercial companies, with a treasurer (or governor), a deputy, sixteen committeemen, seven auditors, a secretary, a "book-keeper for accompts," "the husband," "the beadle" and "the cashyer."

According to the Duke of Manchester Records, Kimbolton MS. No. 288, "The names of His Majesties Council for Virginia," were as follows:

*A New Life of Virginia.

In the first Instructions of November 20th, 1606—Sir William Wade, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, Sir Thomas Smythe, Sir Walter Cope, Sir George Moore, Sir Francis Popham, [Hening, vol. 1, p. 67, gives here the names of "Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir John Trevor," also.] Sir Henry Montague. Sir William Rumney, John Dodderidge, Esq., Thomas Warr, Esq., John Eldred, of London, merchant, Thomas James, of Bristol, merchant and James Bagge, of Plymouth, merchant.

In the second instructions of March 9th, 1607—Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Henry Nevill, Sir Foulke Greville, Sir John Scott, Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Maurice Berkeley, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, Sir Edward Michelbourne, Sir Thomas Holecroft, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Robert Killigrew, Sir Herbert Croft, Sir George Coppin, Sir Edward Sandys, Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Anthony Palmer, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir John Mallet, Sir John Gilbert, Sir Thomas Freke, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Bartholomew Michell, Edward Seymour, Esq., Barnard Greenville, Esq., Edward Rodgers, Esq., and Matthew Sutcliffe, Doctor in Divinitie.

In the Second Charter of May 23d, 1609—Henry, Earle of Southampton; William, Earl of Pembroke, Henry, Earl of Lincoln, Thomas, Earle of Exeter, Robert, Lord Viscount Lisle, Lord Theophilus Howard, James, Lord Bishop of Bath and Welles; Edward, Lord Zouch; Thomas, Lord La Warr; William, Lord Mounteagle; Edmond, Lord Sheffield; Gray, Lord Chandos; John, Lord Stanhope; George Lord, Carew; Sir Humfry Weld, Lord Mayor of London; Sir ~~Edward~~ Cecil, *Sir Henry Nevill, *Sir Thomas Smythe, *Sir Oliver Cromwell, Sir Peter Manwood, *Sir Thomas Chaloner,, Sir Henry Hubard, Sir Francis Bacon, *Sir George Coppin, *Sir John Scott, Sir Henry Cary, Sir Robert Drury, Sir Horatio Vere, Sir Edward Conway, *Sir Maurice Berkely, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir Michael Sandys, *Sir Robert Mansell, *Sir John Trevor*, Sir Amias Preston, Sir William Godolphin, *Sir Walter Cope, *Sir Robert Killigrew, Sir Henry Fanshawe, *Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir John Watts, *Sir Henry Montague, *Sir William Romney, *Sir Thomas Roe, Sir Baptist Hicks, Sir Richard Williamson, Sir Stephen Powell, Sir Dudley Digges, *Sir William Wade, Christopher Brooke, Esquier, *John Eldred, merchant, and John Wolstenholme, Esquier.

*These names are repeated.

In the Third Charter of March 12th, 1612—Philip, Earl of Montgomery; William, Lord Paget; Sir John Harrington, Sir William Cavendish, Sir John Samms, Sir Samuel Sandys, * Sir Thomas Freke, Sir William Saint John, Sir Richard Grobham, Sir Thomas Dale, Sir Cavalliero Maicott, Richard Martin, Esq., John Bingley, Esq., Thomas Watson and Arthur Ingram.

Between March, 1612 and April, 1619—William, Earl of Bath; Sir Robert Phillips, Sir John Danvers, Sir Lionell Cranfield, Sir Anthony Aucher, John Wroth, Esq., Richard Chamberlain, merchant; Robert Johnson, merchant; George Thorpe, Sir Nicholas Tufton, James, Lord Viscount Doncaster; Sir Henry Rainsford, Sir Francis Egiock, Captain George Yardley, Maurice Abbot, merchant; Robert Offley, merchant; Sir Edward Harwood, William Greenwell, merchant; Robert, Earl of Warwick; Sir Thomas Cheeke, Sir Nathaniel Rich, John Ferrar, merchant; Captain Nathaniel Butler, Robert Heath, Esquier, and Thomas Gibbe, Esquier.

The leading officers of the Virginia Company of London, were, at first, almost invariably merchants and business men; Sir Thomas Smith, of the same family as the late Viscount Strangford, who was the Governor of the Muscovy Company, (which had been founded by Sebastian Cabot) an incorporator and, afterwards, Governor of "The East India," "The North West Passage," "The French" and "The Somers Islands Companies," was also the Treasurer, or Governor, of the Virginia Company.

William Canning, one of the first Deputy Treasurers, was one of the very celebrated family of merchants descended from William Canninge, who was six times Mayor of Bristol, 1360-1390. He was a member of the East India and Somers Island Companies, and several times Master of the Ironmongers Company. His brother *Paul* (also a member of the Virginia Company) was sent to India with letters from James I, and died at Agra, May 29th, 1613. The celebrated George Viscount Canning, orator and statesman, was of the same family.

Robert Johnson, another deputy Treasurer, was a brother to John Johnson, Archdeacon of Worcester. He was an incorporator of the East India and North-West Passage Companies, and for many years a Director in the East India Company. He was a leading member of the Grocers Company; in 1617, sheriff of London and for many years an Alderman from Cornhill Ward.

*These names are repeated.

On the 22d of October, 1622, the New England Company consulted Mr. John Selden and Mr. Robert Johnson "concerning the heads of ye new Grand Patten."

But in the absence of the Company's Records, I cannot attempt to give a complete list of the leading officers, committeemen, &c., of the Virginia Company of London; it is certain, however, that all the great companies, for new trades, discoveries and colonization of that period, were largely under the same management, and that under this management the first English Colonies in America were established, and the commerce of Great Britain was spread

"From Greenland's icy mountains, to India's coral strand."

The Muster Roll of the Virginia Company of London, prior to April, 1619, may be quite fairly approximated, as containing :— five countesses, eight ladies, three widows, twenty-four earls, one Marquess, twenty-eight Lords, one Arch-bishop, six Bishops, two hundred and seventy-four Knights (many of these were merchants and business men), seventy-one Esquires, seventy-one gentlemen, eight Doctors, twenty-one Ministers, seventy-six captains, two hundred and ninety-two merchants (chiefly of London), four hundred and twenty three unclassified (but mostly merchants and citizens of London), fifty-seven London City companies, and the corporations of Chichester, Dover, Ipswich, Kings Lynne, Sandwich and The Trinity House. Of these seven hundred and fifteen were enrolled prior to May 23d, 1609; three hundred and thirty-one between May 1609 and 12th March 1612 and about three hundred and twenty-nine between March 1612 and April 1619, making a total of about one thousand, three hundred and seventy-five. One third of these became discouraged and refused to pay their subscriptions; one third only paid in part, and the enterprise was carried forward to final success by the remaining third; "which (to their praise) from the first undertaking to this day (1612) have not ceased to give their counsels, spend their times and lay downe their monies, omitting no occasion to expresse their zeale for effecting (if it may be possible) so great a worke for their King and countries honour, as our nation never before tooke the like in hand." [A new life of Virginia]. The meetings of the managers of the Virginia Company of London were generally held in Sir Thomas Smythe's great house in Philpot Lane, near Fenchurch street, and at the house of the Earl of Exeter, facing the Strand; it stood between the present Wellington and Southampton streets, and the Lyceum Theatre now occupies

a part of its site. It is more than probable that meetings were also held at Lord De La Warr's town house, near "The Temple," and possibly at other houses in London. London is our Mecca—the birth place of Virginia—and many localities in that city must inspire our patriotic citizens with the greatest interest and most sincere reverence. On the 8th of February 1601, the Earl of Essex, during his noted insurrection, marching through London, crying, "For the Queen, For the Queen, &c.," stopped and drank at Sir Thomas Smythe's house; and it was at the house of the Earl of Exeter, facing the Strand, that Queen Elizabeth, wearing the high pyramidical head dress of the period, visiting the old Lord Burleigh, being obliged to stoop, turned to the principal Esquire and said, "For your master's sake I will stoop, but not for the King of Spain."

IV. THE OBJECTS, IDEAS, &C., OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY.

For many years the Protestants of England had been very anxious to check the dangerous power of Spain and Rome in America, by planting English Protestant settlements there, upon such a plan as they might become durable establishments, and by degrees increase till they extended from ocean to ocean. As early as 1585 Sir Philip Sydney and others were interested in such a plan. "The scheme," says Sir Fulke Greville, "was the exactest model Europe ever saw; a conquest not to be enterprised but by Sir Philip's reaching spirit which grasped all circumstances and interests." These ideas still obtained in the Virginia Company of London, many of whom were formerly interested in the enterprises of Raleigh, Sidney, Drake and others. In the circular letter which the council for Virginia sent to the London Companies in the winter of 1608-9, they write—"And thus as an action concerning God and the advancement of religion, the present ease, future honor and safety of the Kingdome, the strength of our Navy, the visible hope of a great and rich trade, and many secrett blessings not yett discovered, wee wholly commend the cause to the wisdom and zeal of yourself and your brethren, and you and it and us all to the Holy protection of the Almightye." In brief their object was to "advance the glorie of God"—by converting the heathen and spreading the Protestant Religion—"to *inlarge the glorie and wealth of their countrie*"*—by strengthening and increasing the possessions and commerce of Great Britain.

*A Good Speed to Virginia.

The managers of the Virginia Company of London were as well informed and as well prepared to undertake the founding of a colony as any Englishmen could have been at that time. And this is sufficiently proven by the fact that the first English colony in America was founded under their management. Many of the Company had great practical experience in commercial affairs; many among them were of "those who go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in great waters;" many had made a study of navigation, commerce and colonization, and were also familiar with the Spanish, Huguenot, English and other explorations in North America, with the works of Hakluyt and others, and with the latest discoveries; many were personally interested in these enterprises and publications. They thought the Appalachian range was rich in minerals; they knew of iron and copper, and hoped to find gold and silver. They had a fair idea "of the comodities of the country" *in esse*, and what might be produced by skillful husbandry. Among these things, "Tobacco, cotton and sugar canes" are mentioned as early as 1607, and they are now among the staple products of the Middle and Southern States. The only available route of the East India Company was around the Cape of Good Hope, and they were naturally anxious to find a more direct route to India. "The great and famous rivers of Volga, Tavis and Dwina have their heads near joyned, and yet the one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea and the third into the Polonian Sea;"* and they hoped that the head of some river emptying into the Atlantic might be near the head of some other river emptying into the Pacific; thus enabling them to establish a traffic route by water with a short portage by land; a similar idea resulted in the plan of which the James river and Kanawha canal was the beginning. The water route has been superseded by steam; but some of us still hope to see their idea carried out, and the James river become a "Grand Emporium for Asiatic and trans-continental commerce." Of course, they had much to learn; but it seems evident to me that "the dawning in the distance" was opening very clearly to their view. At a meeting of the council in February 1609, the author of *Nova Britannia*, said, "Upon good warrant I speak it here in private, what by these new discoveries into the Western Partes, (America) and our hopefull setting in chieftest places of the East (India), with our former known

*Advice for the Colony on landing—1606.

trades in other parts of the world, I do not doubt (by the help of God I may live to see the days if merchants have their due encouragement) that the wisdom, Majesty, and Honour of our King, shall be spread and enlarged to the ends of the world, our Navigations mightily increased and his Majesties customs more than trebled." And "we shall reare such merchants ships both tall and stout, as no forreign sail that swims shall make them vaile or stoope; whereby to make this little Northern corner of the world (England) to be in short time the richest store-house and staple for merchandize in all Europe." It will not be necessary to dwell farther on the objects and ideas of the Virginia Company of London. It seems evident that they kept their business matters and their acts largely to themselves, which was "strictly business;" that they published few of the details, and that the private records of their transactions are chiefly missing; but it seems equally evident that Great Britain is largely indebted to Sir Thomas Smythe and his associates for her commerce and colonies, both in America and in India. 'Their actions speak to us much louder than their words.'

V. SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES THAT HAD TO BE OVERCOME.

On the 14th of December 1609, very soon after the return of the remnant of Sir Thomas Gates' fleet from Virginia, there was entered for publication, at Stationer's Hall, under the hands of Lord De La Warr, Sir Thomas Smythe and Sir Walter Cope, "A True and Sincere Declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia, of the degrees which it hath received and meanes by which it hath beene advanced; and the resolution and conclusion of his Majesties Council of that Colony, for the constant and patient prosecution thereof, until by the mercies of God it shall retribute a fruitfull harvest to the kingdome of Heaven and this Commonwealth. Sett forth by the authority of the Governors and Councillors established for that Plantation." This tract is one of the most interesting publications of "His Majesties Council of Virginia;" in it they give a very brief review of their enterprise, from which I will make several extracts: "In the yeare 1606, Captaine Newport with three ships discovered the Bay of Chessiopeock;" and leaving in Virginia a Colony of about one hundred persons "of sundry qualities and arts," returned to England. "*His returne gave us no hope of any extraordinary con-*

sequence, yet onely upon report of the Navigableness of the River, pleasure, fertility and scituation of the land to our projected ends, we freshly and cheerefully sent in the next yeare another supply; and yet also receiving nothing new, we had courage and constancie to releave them again." In December 1608, leaving Captain Smith president of the council there, Newport sailed from Virginia with unfavorable reports and arrived in England in January 1609. "At which return, experience of error in the equality of the Governors, and some outrages and follies committed by them, had a little shaken so tender a body." "Perceiving that the colony went rather backwards than forwards, they resolved to fall somewhat more lively and substantially to the business."* Of their meetings in January and February, 1609, they write: "After consultation and advice of all the inconveniences in these three supplies, and finding them to arise out of two roots. The forme of government and length and danger of the passage by the southerly course of the West Indydes. To encounter the first we did resolve and obtaine, to renew our Letters Pattents, and to procure to ourselves, such ample and large priviledges and powers by which wee were at liberty to reforme and correct those errors already discovered, and to prevent such as in the future might threaten us; and so, to sett and furnish out under the conduct of one able and absolute Governor, a large supply of five hundred men, with some number of families, of wife, children and servants, to take fast holde and roote in that land, and this resolution was with much alacritie and confidence." [The second charter 'reformed and corrected those errors of government already discovered,' by removing the President and Council in Virginia from authority, by cancelling all laws, etc., made by them and by an entire change in the form of Government.]

"And to meete the second inconvenience, we did also prepare to sett out, one small ship for discovery of a shorter way, and to make tryall of the fishing within our bay and river."

"To the establishment of a Government such as should meete with all the revealed inconveniences; we gave our Commission to an able and worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Gates, whom we did nominat and appoint sole and absolute Governor of that colony; and with him we sent Sir George Summers, Admirale and Captaine Newport, vice-admirale of Virginia." [So, "Gates, who has the honor, to all posterity of being the first

*Sloane MSS., No. 750, Brit. Museum.

named in the original patent for Virginia,"* has, also, the honor of the being the first commissioned Governor of that Colony.]

"For the discoverie, Captain Argall received our commission under our Seale, with instruction (to avoide all danger of quarrell with the subjects of the King of Spaine) not to touch upon any of his Dominions." [So, this was not an "unauthorized trading voyage."]

Argall sailed from Portsmouth, May 5th, 1609, by a direct route, arrived in Virginia on the 13th of July and found Captain Smith the only living member of the Council and the Colonists "in great distresse and want, brought about by the misgovernment of the commanders, by dissention and ambition among themselves."

We are familiar with the misfortunes that befell the fleet under Sir Thomas Gates; but "who can avoide the hand of God or dispute with him?"

There was a difference of opinion† as to the infection brought to Virginia by these ships, some said it was 'the plague shipped from London,' which is not impossible, as the plague was in that city from 1603 to 1611; others said it was the Calentura (a term then generally applied to the fever of the tropics, now known as the yellow-fever,) and this, I think, was correct; this was one of the dangers of the passage by the southerly course of the West Indies, which the Council wished to avoid, the emigrants going to Virginia by this route frequently suffering from it. Many in Virginia were well acquainted with it. Captain John Martin was with Sir Francis Drake at Carthagen, in 1585-6, when so many of his men were carried off by it. However, whether it was the plague, yellow fever, or some other infection, the colony was certainly left by the returning fleet in a most deplorable condition, and this news brought from Virginia by these vessels cast such a dead gloom over the Virginia Company of London, that very many adventurers refused to pay their subscriptions and abandoned the enterprise. But the Managers of the Company held "solemne meetings" in November and December 1609, and notwithstanding the desperate state of affairs, they "resolved and determined on the constant and patient prosecution of the Plantation begun in Virginia, untill by the mercies of God it shall retribute a fruitful harvest to the Kingdome of heaven and to this commonwealth." For the preservation of the colony a

*Bancroft's History of the United States.

†A True and Sincere Declaration, 1609-10—A True Declaration 1610, etc., etc.

really strong hand was now necessary, and Lord De La Warr, 'of approved courage, temper and experience,' 'whose Honour nor Fortune needed no desperate medecine,' "an annient and Worthy Peer" of England, determined to go himself in person to rescue and to save the colony. It was, at first, his intention to go in the following January, but the discouragement was so great that progress was very slow; his patent, as "Lord Governor and Captain Generall of Virginia for life," was sealed by the Company on the 28th of February, 1610;* he bore a great part of the expense of his saving expedition himself; he sailed from the Cowes on the first of April, two hundred and seventy-six years ago. The Rev. William Crashaw, preacher at the Temple, sent, through him, the following salutation to Virginia:†

"And thou Virginea, whom, though mine eies see not, my heart shall love; how hath God honoured thee? Thou hast thy name from the worthiest Queene that ever the world had; thou hast thy matter from the greatest King on earth; and thou shall now have thy forme from one of the most glorious Nations under the sunne, and under the conduct of a Generall of as great and ancient Nobility as ever was ingaged in action of this nature. But this is but a little portion of thy honour; for thy God is coming towards thee, and in the meane time sends to thee, and salutes thee with the best blessing heaven hath, even his blessed Gospell. Looke up therefore, and lift up thy head, for thy redemption draweth nie; and he that was the God of Israel, and is still the God of England, will shortly, I doubt not, bring it to passe, that men shall say, Blessed be the Lord God of Virginea; and let all Christian people say, Amen!"

On the 7th of June, 1610, the Colony at Jamestown was abandoned; but most fortunately before the colonists had left James river, Lord De La Warr, the savior of Virginia, arrived with the necessary relief; turned back the old colonists, who had abandoned the colony, and planted, or replanted, a colony, which had yet to overcome vital perils; but which, under the management of himself and his co-laborers, was finally established.

The most trying years in the History of the Colony were probably from 1611 to 1614. In November, 1612, Henry, Prince of Wales, the especial Patron of Virginia, died, at whose death the enemies of the Colony 'hoped that it would fall of

*Howe's Abridgement of Stowe; Edition of 1618.

†From Crashaw's Sermon Delivered February 21st, 1609, on the text—St. Luke, 22d Chapter, 32d Verse.

itself.' This was a very natural hope, for during this period it was really "in jeopardy every hour," from the foe within and the foe without. Many in England were then unfriendly to the Colony, even many old adventurers abandoned and condemned the enterprise. "By whose unconstancie and irresolution, the hope of that Plantation, together with the lives of our people there, had then utterly perished, had not God's secret purpose beene more strongly fixed to uphold the same, by stirring up the mindes and undaunted Spirits of a very small remnant of constant Adventurers, who with Sir Thomas Smythe in all that time of three yeares disaster, were never discouraged, nor withdrew themselves from weekly courts and meetings, yielding their purses, credit and counseil, from time to time, to make new supplies even beyond their proportion, to uphold the Plantation."* And Spain was, at this time, demanding that the English should abandon Virginia, and threatening to remove the Colony by force.† For an hundred years the Spaniards had claimed the country and had held it against the Huguenots and all comers. The first ship to leave England under the charter to the Virginia Companies of April 10th, 1606, sailed from Plymouth, August 12th, was taken in the West Indies on the 10th of November, by a mixed fleet of French and Spaniards and the English adventurers were carried to France and Spain; thus the Spaniards were at once informed regarding the English Colonization schemes. In August, 1607, "Captain Waiman (Weymouth?) was taken in a port in Kent shipping himself for Spain with intent, as is thought, to have betrayed his friends and shewed the Spaniards a meanes how to defeat that Virginian attempt." In the summer of 1609, "the pilot ~~to~~ Major of Florida, Ecija, ‡ was sent to find out what the English were doing in Virginia,' and he reported that they had settled at Guandape, a station which had been taken possession of for Spain by Lucas Vasquez De Ayllon the Adelantado (Governor) of the country as early as 1526. In the summer of 1611, a vessel was sent from Havana Cuba to the Chesapeake, which put ashore near Point Comfort three agents of Spain; Diego De Molina, Marco Antonio Perez, and a renegade Englishman in the service of Spain, who was called "*Francis Lymbrye*," by Hugh Lee, "*James Limry*," by Sir John Digby, and "Master Antonio," by the King of Spain. The

*A Briefe Declaration of the present state of things in Virginia, &c., 1616.

†Diplomatic Letters, &c.

‡Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. II, pp. 285, etc.

